Madanipour A.

Presentation: Crossroads in Space and Time.

In: **Gregory Smith and Jan Gadeyne, ed.** ***Perspectives on Public Space in Rome, from Antiquity to the Present Day*****. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013, pp.xvii-xxxiii.**

Madanipour, A., 2013, Crossroads in space and time, in Gregory Smith and Jan Gadeyne, eds, *Perspectives on Public Space in Rome: From antiquity to the present day*, Ashgate, Aldershot, pp.xvii-xxxiii.

Crossroads in space and time

Ali Madanipour

Cities are concentrations in space and time, many growing historically around the intersection of major roads, facilitating the development of an urban society, with its functional division of labor, communication with a hinterland, and trade with other cities. The important nodes inside cities have grown around these crossroads, where public spaces and major public institutions cluster, where different paths meet and where the multiple dimensions of public life unfold. Before the rise of the modern technologies in transport and communication, these crossroads were the physical and institutional foci of social, economic and political life, receiving much of the attention and investment that a town could make. Rome, the eternal city at the heart of secular and spiritual empires, standing at spatial and temporal crossroads, displays this better than most cities.

After a brief historical visit to the changing faces of Rome's public spaces, as places of power and persuasion, as well as trade and consumption, the chapter will focus on the contemporary public spaces at a wider international context and the challenges they face in the future. Public spaces are a primary component of the urban experience, and as cities have become more important as nodes in the network of globalized economies, their public spaces have found increasing significance. This new attention has brought to surface the tensions between different claims to space, where strong exclusionary forces can be identified in the making and managing of public spaces in cities. This chapter explores these pressures within the framework of the changing nature of cities, and its impact on public spaces, arguing for democratic public spaces that are considered as common goods; accessible places made through inclusive processes.

Places of power and persuasion

As Virgil had wished in, Romans were to have 'no bounds of empire … Nor term of years to their immortal line'.[1] This sense of limitless time, space, and power was to be reflected in their cities and public spaces, as displayed in the Forum and other public spaces, which accumulated buildings and places of significance, as well as memories and mythologies, through a long history.

[1] Aeneid, Book I.

Figure 1. The Roman Forum: A crossroad in space and time

Similarly, the provincial Roman cities' public spaces provided the stages upon which the might of the empire and the religious and secular powers were on display. In the layout of a new Roman town, sacrifice, divination and augury were used first for the selection of the best site. Within the city walls, a grid was established, and sites for public places for temples and forums were determined.

According to Vitruvius[2] , the celebrated Roman architectural theorist who lived in the first century B.C., the Greeks designed their agora on 'a square plan with exceedingly spacious double porticoes'. However, the Italian cities, with their custom of gladiatorial games in the forum, he thought, required more spacious intercolumnations around the performance space. In inland cities, the forum was to be placed at the centre of the city, while in seaside cities it had to be right next to the port.[3] Temples and other public places were to be adjoined next to the forum and the senate house, in particular, be built so as 'to enhance the dignity of the town or city'.[4] As Vitruvius puts it,

> shrines of Venus, Vulcan, and Mars should be located outside the walls so that venerated lust will not become a commonplace for the city's adolescents and matriarchs. By summoning Volcanic energy out of the city by means of rites and sacrifices, the city's buildings are thought to have been delivered from the danger of fire. And if the divinity of Mars is honored outside the city walls, there will not be armed conflict among citizens, rather, he will ensure that the walls serve only to defend the city from its enemies and the danger of war.[5]

[2] Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture* (Cambridge, 1999), V,1, p.64.
[3] Ibid, I,6, p.31.
[4] Ibid, V,2, p.65.
[5] Ibid., I,7, p.31.

The forum's dimensions depended on the size of the city's population, as 'its area should neither be too cramped for efficiency nor so large that for lack of population it looks deserted'.[6] The proportions of 3 by 2 for its length and width were recommended. The forum's configuration was therefore oblong and 'its design effective for mounting spectacles'.[7]

The interplay of power and persuasion once again shaped the spaces of the city in new ways, as Rome was revitalized at the end of the medieval period on the basis of promoting pilgrimage. From 1300 onwards, jubilees were held in Rome, which were a time of pilgrimage and a source of income for the city, with which vital repairs were made. Pope Nicholas V (1447-55) saw the rebuilding of the city as an instrument of establishing Rome as the undisputed capital of faith for Christians. He wrote,

> To create solid and stable convictions in the minds of the uncultured masses there must be something that appeals to the eye: a popular faith, sustained only by doctrines, will never be anything but feeble and vacillating. But if the authority of the Holy See were visibly displayed in majestic buildings, imperishable memorials and witnesses seemingly planted by the hand of God himself, belief would grow and strengthen like a tradition from one generation to another, and all the world would accept and revere it. Noble edifices combining taste and beauty with imposing proportions would immensely conduce to the exaltation of the chair of St Peter.[8]

With the turn of the fifteenth to sixteenth century, the centre of innovation moved from Florence to Rome, with Early Renaissance transition to High Renaissance, and Mannerism.[9] Eventually, the counter-reformation provided the impetus for a Baroque refashioning of Rome, which combined the religious and the temporal in a display of images and an organization of space. Rome's streets and monuments were gradually improved under the patronage of different popes, but it is Sixtus V (1585-90) who is widely known for a radical plan for the city. His program was based on three objectives. The first objective was to set up a water distribution network that would enable the repopulation of the city hills, through building new and repairing ancient viaducts. The second objective was setting up a street network that would connect the main churches of the city and the improvements undertaken by his predecessors. The third objective was to create an aesthetic unity for a city made of disparate parts.[10] Old and new streets were integrated into a network which connected the seven pilgrimage churches of Rome, easing the navigation in the city for pilgrims. The streets were given gentle inclines by flattening hills and filling valleys; their

[6] Ibid., V,2, p.64.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Quoted in AEJ Morris, *History of Urban Form: Before the industrial revolution*, Third edition (Harlow, 1994), p.176.
[9] Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture*, Seventh edition (Harmondsworth, 1963), p.200.
[10] Morris, *History of Urban Form,* p.179.

straight lines provided open vistas, which were enhanced by placing obelisks at the main intersections and other important points.

According to Leon Battista Alberti, the Renaissance counterpart to Vitruvius, 'a forum is but an enlarged crossroad, and a show ground [which included theatre, circus, and gladiatorium] nothing but a forum surrounded with steps.'[11] But it was essential that such public places were well articulated, as compared to the relative modesty of private buildings and spaces. While private buildings were expected to be modest in their appearances, the significance of public buildings (civic and sacred) was to be emphasized by ornaments.[12] The public space was to be clean and elegant,

> Apart from being properly paved and thoroughly clean, the roads within a city should be elegantly lined with porticoes of equal lineaments, and houses that are matched by line and level. The parts of the road that need to be particularly distinguished by ornaments are these: bridges, crossroads, fora, and show buildings.[13]

One of the best examples of the use of public places for the display of a new order was the monumental use of sculpture in public places, by placing a statue or an obelisk at the centre of a square, a tradition that was adopted widely after the sixteenth century. The idea was introduced by Michelangelo in Campidoglio on Capitol Hill in Rome, which he was commissioned to design in 1537. Before this square, sculpture was placed next to buildings, working closely with, or as part of, buildings, leaving the centre of public spaces open for public use.[14] Michelangelo, with his sculptors' sensibilities, gave the centre of the square to a statue of Marcus Aurelius, the only equestrian statue to have survived from ancient Rome, making a temporal connection with the antiquity. This central place was emphasized by placing the statue at the centre of an oval pattern on the floor, and on the main axis of the square, which was marked by the stairs leading from the bottom of the hill to the square. This was the first monumental square of its kind, paving the way for the Baroque squares that were created afterwards.[15]

[11] Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books* (Cambridge, MA, 1988), IIX,6, p.262.
[12] Ibid., IX, 1. p.292-3.
[13] Ibid., IIX, 6, p.262.
[14] Sitte, Camillo, 'City Planning According to Artistic Principles', in George Collins & Christiane Collins (eds) *Camillo Sitte: The birth of modern city planning* (New York, 1986).
[15] Morris, *History of Urban From*, pp.183-4.

Figure 2. Campidoglio: Temporal connections through spatial monumentality

In Baroque streets and squares, fixed points, such as statues, fountains, obelisks or buildings were used to manage vistas, as distinctive from the ever changing vistas that characterized medieval cities.[16] These fixed points were the reference points of central composition of the time, which were connected to one another through axes and gridiron patterns, to create harmony and unity in urban space. Even though religious beliefs still dominated the urban structure, and the urban nodes and points of reference were still churches and other religious symbols, the idea of creating an interconnected and harmonious urban space now made these nodes a part of a larger structure.

After the emergence of the absolute monarchies and the modern nation states, Rome has been a source of inspiration for many city builders throughout centuries, eager to use the urban space as an affirmation of their rising power and the development of new national identities. Colbert, Louis XIV's powerful treasurer who changed the face of Paris, was dreaming of 'a new Rome' that was decorated with obelisks, a pyramid, a new royal palace, and triumphal arches'.[17] Louis Napoleon declared his wishes to be 'a second Augustus', as it was he who had turned Rome into 'a city of marble'.[18] Wren, who proposed the transformation of London after the great fire of 1666, was aware of the Sixtus V's streets in Rome through printed sources and travelers' accounts.[19]

[16]Andrew Trout, *City on the Seine: Paris in the time of Richelieu and Louis XIV* (New York, 1996), p.52.
[17] Ibid., p.168.
[18] Quoted in Alistair Home, *Seven Ages of Paris* (London, 2002), p.265.
[19] Kerry Downes, *The Architecture of Wren*, Second edition (London, 1988), p.51.

In the design of Washington DC, Rome is present in the geometrical and axial plan of L'Enfant, while Washington's senate, and its location Capitol, were both named after Rome's.

The ancient Greek approach to spatial organization was based on human cognition, in scared precincts as well as in agoras. Buildings were so spaced around an open space that they could all be seen from a three-quarter view, and be located at distances of 30-70 meters, from the vantage point of a main entrance.[20] For the Greeks, even after the Hippodamian orthogonal town plans, each building was an end in itself and they were satisfied if it was beautiful and accessible. This, however, changed with the Romans, who subordinated their streets and marketplaces to dominant buildings and axial planning. The city space was organized along the two main north-south and east-west axes (cardo and decumanus). As the size of the city and the power of the state grew and democratic practices were abandoned, long vistas, mechanical symmetry, centralized effects and sacrificing other considerations to the facade were sought. This difference between the Greeks and Romans in the approach to urban space seems to have provided a basis for the future trends in the West. The Middle Ages unconsciously reverted to the Greek method, while the Renaissance and what has followed since have revived the Roman ideal.[21]

Places of trade and consumption

Medieval cities were places of trade, marketplaces at crossroads.[22] They provided a refuge from the countryside, an enclosed safe space for the production and exchange of goods and services. That is why the city wall, with its towers and gates, was a major but necessary investment by the town. Inside the wall, the street pattern was like a starfish, connecting a dense centre to the gates along the arterial roads. Just outside the gates, businesses and entire neighborhoods grew along these roads, the *faubourgs*, where trade could be as vibrant as inside the gates without paying the gate and sales tax. Focus on trade provided a basis for transition out of a religious and into a secular framework, which provided the groundwork for the emergence of Renaissance humanism. The walls that surrounded the city and the church that formed its spiritual (and at times temporal heart) were the common infrastructures of the medieval city.

The balance between the public and private spaces was always changing in the medieval city, which was a place of trade characterized by a constant battle between the public and private interests. There was 'a fluid balance' between 'Infinitely expanding public space and the eternally encroaching buildings'.[23] The streets of the medieval city, which appeared to some modern commentators as an anarchic maze, reflecting the behavior of pack donkeys rather than

[20] C.A.Doxiadis, *Architectural Space in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, MA, 1972), pp.3-5.
[21] D.S. Robertsons, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, Second Edition (Cambridge, 1969), pp.191-4.
[22] Howard Saalman, *Medieval Cities* (London, 1968); Colin Platt, *The English Medieval Town* (London, 1976); Colin Platt, *The Architecture of Medieval Britain: A social history*, (New Haven, 1990).
[23] Saalman, *Medieval Cities,* p.35.

humans[24], were indeed formed by constant struggle between public and private interests. The significant number of craftsmen and traders that made up the town's population were engaged in trade inside private spaces and outside in the public areas. As the ability to extend the private commercial space was limited in the walled cities of Europe, a constant competition for control and use of space was reflected in encroachments into public space and a permanent struggle between the public and private spheres.[25] It is this struggle which appears to have been once again revived in our time.

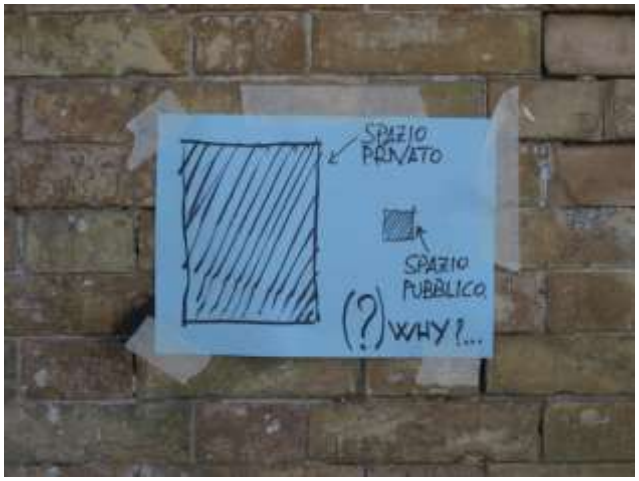

Figure 3. The revival of struggle between public and private spheres

The spatial division of labor has led to the notion of consumer and producer cities, a division which has a long history. For Max Weber[26], the prime example of the producer city was the medieval city, where new institutions, ideas, and social classes emerged as part of a division of labor with the countryside, in which both were engaged in production and exchange. In contrast to this positive image of the medieval city stood the image of the ancient city, especially Rome: there was no political distinction between the ancient city and the countryside, both ruled by the same elite, in which the city consumed what the countryside produced, suggesting a parasitic role for the city at the expense of the countryside. Historians of ancient cities, however, have rejected this characterization, arguing that the relationships between the town and the countryside in ancient Rome should be put in a broader context, concentrating on the role of the households, rather than the geographical separation between the town and country. The relationships between the town and the country were two ways, both being parts of the economy, with a level of investment by the landed aristocracy in the productive capacity of the urban economy. Indeed, the argument goes, the dystopian characterization of the ancient metropolis, exemplified in the influential work of Mumford[27] and the city planning tradition, draws on the twentieth century approaches to the

[24] Le Corbusier, *The City of To-morrow, and its planning* (London, 1971).
[25] Saalman, *Medieval Cities.*
[26] Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An outline of interpretive sociology* (Berkeley, 1978); Max Weber, *The Agrarian Sociology of Ancient Civilizations* (London, 1998).
[27] L. Mumford, *The City in History* (London, 1961).

city, in which the metropolis was equated with unhealthy and chaotic conditions, as opposed to the planned order of smaller cities.[28]

With the passing of manufacturing industry in some cities, the idea of consumer cities has now been applied to the contemporary city. De-industrialized cities and those dominated by services are called consumer cities, a term which carries a pejorative undertone, implying that these cities no longer earn their living out of hard work, but consume what the others produce, and to do so these cities resort to various tricks. The opposite to these consumer cities, it is thought, are producer cities, as exemplified by the centers of manufacturing industry, where useful objects were produced by honest diligent people. Engagement in services, it has been argued by the critics of de-industrialization, is not productive work, but only a soft form of economic activity that is not reliable enough or sustainable. To counter this accusation, the idea of knowledge economy appears to be offering a positive label for services, acknowledging their productive force and economic value.

In this positive portrayal, the knowledge city's relation to the manufacturing city is similar to the medieval city's relation to the countryside: two forms of production incorporated in an interdependent spatial division of labor within integrated economies. Knowledge and information are the products of this city, which are exchanged for agricultural and manufacturing goods produced elsewhere. This description of the new roles for de-industrializing economies moves away from the idea of consumer city and leads to an assertive role for the intangible products of the services that prevail in the knowledge economy. Inherent in this integration, however, there is a hierarchical representation of a tension, which is ultimately addressed through changing positions in the hierarchy.

The range of intangible goods and services produced in the knowledge city, therefore, could be economically productive work, generating income and employment for the city, enabling it to earn its living. However, as the global financial crisis of 2008 showed, intangible products are precarious, potentially fictitious, and ultimately dependant on persuading consumers that they need these products. The western policy makers increasingly talk about re-industrialization and rebalancing of service-based economies. When the new coalition government came to power in the UK in 2010, their diagnosis was that the country was too much dependant on the finance industry, and it now needed to find alternative ways of earning a living, while learning to live within its means.[29]

---

[28] Helen Parkins (ed), *Roman Urbanism: Beyond the consumer city* (London, 1997).
[29] Onanuga, Tola, Emergency Budget: George Osborne's speech in full, *The Guardian*, Tuesday 22 June 2010, http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2010/jun/22/emergency-budget-full-speech-text, accessed 2 August 2010.

Places of competition and promotion

The postwar strategy of state intervention in the market[30] had produced a new landscape on the basis of modernist ideas.[31] The boom years, however, came to an end by the mid-1960s, as the older industrial economies went into decline and critics questioned the modernist project.[32] This period was followed by dramatic changes in the economic and social structure of urban societies, characterized by a market paradigm and the rise of services. The market was now considered to be in a better position to deliver economic renewal and vibrancy, and therefore was given a much freer reign, whereas the state was to be only a regulator and enabler, rather than a provider. The advent of the information, communication and new transport technologies, and the emergence of vibrant economies around the world, has led to a new international division of labor, whereby the production of goods and services have found new locations. The old manufacturing industries are replaced by financial and creative industries as the new engines of economic growth.[33] In this transition, urban development moved from a public sector activity to a remit of the private sector.

Alongside the rise of a market paradigm, public authorities emulate the logic and behavior of private sector agencies in the name of efficiency and economic vibrancy. The traditional methods of organizing government were thought to be 'too cumbersome, too bureaucratic, too inefficient, too unresponsive, too unproductive'.[34] The market, however, would not be interested in delivering public goods, so the public sector would have to build the basic infrastructure, reclaim the land, and encourage investors to be engaged in a locality. This shift inevitably favors those who are better placed in the market, creating spaces for their use and enjoyment, and keeping others at bay, with dramatic implications for the social life of cities.

The examples of market-friendly public spaces abound, where the interests of investors and consumers seem to overlap. The widely discussed examples are shopping malls, which are private versions of town centers, with the added dimension of private management and security guards. Business Improvement Districts are also another example of the private management of public space, where the public spaces of an area come under the control of a group of businesses, who would arrange for its maintenance and improvement, but would also expect a degree of limitation to support their business activities. This is where the exclusion of the 'undesirables' comes into play, as people who are detrimental to business activities. As public authorities embrace the methods of private sector businesses, they outsource their tasks of urban

[30] Michel Aglietta, *A Theory of Capitalist Regulation: The US experience*, New Edition (London, 2000); Alain Lipietz, *Towards a New Economic Order: Postfordism, ecology and democracy* (Cambridge, 1992).
[31] E. Howard, *Garden Cities of To-morrow* (London, 1960); Le Corbusier, *The City of To-Morrow and Its Planning* (New York, 1987).
[32] J. Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York, 1961); Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA, 1960); Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford, 1991).
[33] A. Madanipour, *Knowledge Economy and the City* (London, 2011).
[34] R.D.Behn, 'The new public management paradigm and the search for democratic accountability', *International Public Management Journal* 1/2 (1998): p.131.

management, and appear to be happy if private companies build and run parts of the city on their behalf. Beyond the affluent parts of the town, however, even this level of public space provision would not take place, as the main attention by the public and private sectors seems to focus on the spaces that matter economically. The withdrawal of basic private sector services, such as banks and supermarkets, from low-income areas is defended on the basis of crime and low return, and so the conditions of decline continue in the low-income neighborhoods.

Globalization refers to the process of increased interdependence between different parts of the world, which are connected to one another through a global financial infrastructure with the help of transport and information and communication technologies. In this context, cities and regions around the world find themselves in competition with one another, each trying to find a niche in a crowded marketplace by offering distinctive qualities, which would give them competitive advantage over the others. The key public spaces of these cities are therefore improved as display windows, as badges of identity for the city, as brands in the global market. Such improvement no doubt contributes to the quality of life for some residents, but much of the justification for public space improvements draws on the economics of city marketing and inter-regional and inter-national competition. What is at stake is the status of the city, its image, and position in the market. It becomes crucial for a city to attract a famous brand, such as Harvey Nichols in Leeds, to have well-known landmarks and iconic buildings, such as the Guggenheim museum in Bilbao. Whatever the extent of beautification at the centre of a city, its benefits are not obvious or available to the poor who live at a distance, as in French banlieus or in the British inner city, who cannot afford the high cost of public transport or feel alienated from the spectacles on display.

Places of sociability and recognition

Across the advanced industrial countries, social inequality has been growing in the past two decades.[35] Social Inequality is often studied in its economic dimension, measured through income inequality and how it has been rising. Others have studied welfare inequality, and how access to health, education and other public services has varied across different sections of the population. However, inequality is also manifest in other areas, which include access to social recognition, political participation, quality of life, and perceptions of wellbeing.[36] Social inequality, therefore, is multi-dimensional, as evident in economic, political and cultural spheres, with clear spatial manifestation. The multiple dimensions of inequality find spatial manifestation in the concentrations of multiple deprivation in disadvantaged urban neighborhoods.[37]

[35] OECD, *Growing Unequal? Income distribution and poverty in OECD countries* (Paris, 2008).
[36] Pierre Bourdieu, *Pascalian Meditations* (Cambridge, 2000); Axel Honneth, *Disrespect: The normative foundations of critical theory* (Cambridge, 2007).
[37] A. Madanipour, 'Social exclusion and space', in R. LeGates and F.Stout (eds), *The City Reader*, Fifth Edition, (London, 2011), pp.186-194.

As the deprived population is concentrated in particular parts of cities, their public spaces become a manifestation of disadvantage. Transient and diverse populations who are trapped within these areas bring their frustration to the public spaces, whereby these spaces display the cracks in the fragile coexistence of these groups. Rather than places of sociability, public spaces become places of incompatibility, miscommunication and conflict. As long established neighborhoods associated with industrial working class decline, their physical and social infrastructure deteriorate, and their public spaces show signs of exhaustion and neglect. The public spaces of deprived neighborhoods become the playgrounds of the disillusioned youth, which alienates other groups, particularly the elderly, who find these spaces unpleasant or even dangerous to use. These spaces become heavily used by some groups, such as street drinkers, who in turn frighten the young mothers with their children, or the passers-by. As the fear of crime and violence increases, withdrawal from public spaces intensifies. The attention paid to city centre public spaces, which is associated with the city's economic development, is not stretched to the poor areas, as such an investment is seen as a drain on the resources, rather than an investment in the future.[38]

A combined effect of the rising social inequality and radical transformation of the economic structure has been gentrification and displacement, with considerable implications for public spaces of the city. Gentrification refers to a shift in the control and use of space from lower-income to higher-income social groups, reflecting a degree of competition for a finite resource.[39] This is often a painful process for those who are adversely affected, as they are somehow forced to leave their neighborhoods, either by the force of the market or by the pressure from public regeneration projects.

Gentrification is sometimes the by-product, and sometimes the driving force, of change in the urban landscape, in which the services have replaced manufacturing industries. The production of space by the market tends to look for new opportunities for investment and for higher returns[40]; and if some areas of the city happen to show readiness for such investments, especially after long periods of disinvestment and falling prices, they become candidates for regeneration. When investment is attracted to an area, however, the rents rise and the original population and activities no longer can survive. The conflict between use value and exchange value is solved in favor of the latter.[41] Regeneration and renaissance of cities, often for the benefits of the new urban middle class, become a key preoccupation for the governments, as part of their overall economic

[38] A. Madanipour, 'Marginal public spaces in European cities', in A. Madanipour (ed), *Whose Public Space?*, (London, 2010), pp.111-130.
[39] T. Slater, 'The eviction of critical perspectives from gentrification research', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 30/4 (2006): pp.737-757; Loretta Lees and David Ley, 'Introduction to special issue on gentrification and public policy', *Urban Studies*, 45/12 (2008): pp.2379-2384.
[40] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*; N. Smith, *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the revanchist city* (London, 1996).
[41] John Logan and Harvey Molotch, *Urban Fortunes: the political economy of place* (Berkeley, 1987).

development efforts.[42] This change is clearly visible in public spaces, which become often a driver for the gentrification process. By investing in public spaces, market confidence is established, as developers and investors see signs of upmarket movement in the area. These public spaces, therefore, respond to the market, becoming the new spectacles and paving the way for new investment. The resulting public spaces tend to cater to the needs of an upmarket clientele, rather than serving a wider population.

While public spaces have different dimensions and are studied from a variety of angles, the primary defining feature of a public space is its accessibility, and therefore if spaces are enclosed and inaccessible, it is not possible to call them public.[43] Access in turn is closely intertwined with the notion of equality; when access is denied, a clear signal is given that the space is not open to all and caters only for a select group who are able to pay for the privilege. The public has been defined as the opposite of the private and the personal[44], or in other words being permeable, interpersonal or impersonal.[45] The clear spatial differentiation between the two realms has been also advocated by those who are concerned about safety and security.[46] In social and spatial terms, however, the boundaries are much more blurred, as the existence of semi-public and semi-private spaces are essential for making social life possible through softening the boundaries. The way these boundaries are constructed would have a considerable impact on the character of a city; whether public spaces are lined by high walls, barbed wires and setback fortress buildings; or by low fences, trees and green spaces, and welcoming buildings would have completely different conditions and atmosphere.

Beyond functional and instrumental access, there is also a symbolic and expressive dimension to public spaces. In small towns and villages of the past, the public space was the place of many activities, including ritual and display, integrating the economic, political and cultural life of the community. While in the large cities of modern societies the integrative nature and role of public spaces have changed, the use of public space for sociability has not disappeared. Public space is the place where identities are displayed, discovered, and asserted. Access to this opportunity plays a major role in the sense of wellbeing for individuals and social groups. Access, therefore, finds both instrumental and expressive dimensions, responding to a variety of social needs, even in the modern large city with its non-converging networks and fragmented identities. The anonymity of the city and the openness of its public spaces have caused fear in people who have

[42] Urban Task Force, *Towards an Urban Renaissance* (London, 1999); S. Cameron, 'Gentrification, housing re-differentiation and urban regeneration: 'going for growth' in Newcastle upon Tyne', *Urban Studies*, 40/12 (2003): pp.2367-2382; J. Punter (ed), *Urban Design and the British Urban Renaissance* (London, 2010).
[43] S.I. Benn and G.F Gaus (eds), *Public and Private in Social Life* (London, 1983).
[44] Allan Silver, 'Two different sorts of commerce' – friendship and strangership in civil society, in J. Weintraub, and K. Kumar (eds), *Public and Private in thought and Action: Perspectives on a grand dichotomy* (Chicago, 1997), pp.43-74.
[45] A. Madanipour, *Public and Private Spaces of the City* (London, 2003).
[46] Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities.*

been worried about crime and security, moving towards enclosure and limitation imposed on public spaces. Any reduction in accessibility, however, would take away an essential part of what makes spaces public and democratic and, subsequently, what makes cities. Accessible public spaces provide the opportunity for collective and shared experiences, confronting the forces of segregation and disintegration that are inherent in large urban societies.

To understand the significance of inclusivity, which would ensure equality and accessibility, we can look at the dynamics of the development process, in which the urban spaces are produced. This is a process in which a wide range of actors and agencies are involved, often conceived and controlled by professional considerations and commercial interests. As the size of companies and their productive capacity has grown, the division of labor has diversified and extended, and the process of development become more complex, the tendency has been for the process to become more instrumental and technical, with limited relations to the people who may use the product. The broader conceived and the more inclusive this process, the more accessible and inclusive its results would be.

To ensure a degree of success in meeting these challenges, there is a broad agreement that participation of the public would improve the chances of success in development and regeneration of urban neighborhoods. Such inclusivity is unable to address the more fundamental economic and social problems that have persisted in these areas, but they have the potential to trigger the start of a process of change. Without indulging in physical determinism, inclusive processes would create and maintain better places, where people have a better sense of ownership and have more control over their living environment. Rather than merely reflecting the market expectations or professional instructions, an inclusive process may have the capacity to include the voices of the people who use and inhabit the space, hence ensuring its accessibility and relevance to their needs.

Examples of co-production of inclusive places can be found around the world. An example is the low-income neighborhoods in Latin America, where informal settlements have gradually matured, and through collaboration between residents and support from the municipality, public spaces of barrios have improved and new spaces created.[47] In northern France, the collaboration of design teams, local municipalities and local populations could plan and implement public spaces that were more accessible.[48] In Britain, the regeneration processes that have involved the citizens from the start have been widely recognized as successful examples of urban transformation, where public spaces are reconfigured and new ones created. These examples of inclusive

[47] Mauricio Hernández-Bonilla, 'Making public space in low-income neighborhoods in Mexico', in A. Madanipour (ed), *Whose Public Space? International case studies in urban design and development* (London, 2010), pp.191-211.
[48] Paola Michialino, 'Co-production of public space in Nord-Pas-de-Calais: redefinition of social meaning', in A. Madanipour (ed), *Whose Public Space?* (London, 2010), pp.191-211.

production of urban space indicate the possibility of creating alternative conditions for the life of people who are often undermined and ignored in urban change. When compared to similar schemes without any public participation, the gap in acceptability and accessibility of urban space becomes fully evident.

Crossroads in space and time

Public spaces have been used as places of power and persuasion, in which political and economic powers are on display, and cultural power is exerted through organization of space and the deployment of aesthetic sensibilities and cultural traditions. Through monuments, spectacles and rituals, religious beliefs and national identities are forged in public places and political powers are legitimized. Public spaces have also been used as places of trade and consumption, in a tense competition between different private interests with each other and with the society as a whole over the ownership and control of urban space. Public spaces have been used, moreover, as places of exclusion and social stratification, as well as places of sociability and democratic integration. While some forces pull the social fabric apart and display the results in public spaces, it can be conceivable that the resistance to these forces may also be partially developed and displayed in public space, through instituting inclusive processes aiming at the creation of accessible places. Throughout ages, public spaces have been windows into the urban society in all its complexities, becoming the mediums through which recurring fights between different interests as well as struggle for co-production and peaceful coexistence are made visible. Located at the core of cultural and political networks for millennia, Rome has displayed these features better than most, features that many cities around the world have shared.

Bibliography

Aglietta, Michel, *A Theory of Capitalist Regulation: The US experience*, New Edition, (London: Verso, 2000).

Alberti, Leon Battista, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1988).

Behn, R.D., 'The new public management paradigm and the search for democratic accountability', *International Public Management Journal*, 1/2 (1998): 131-64.

Benn S.I. and G.F Gaus (eds), *Public and Private in Social Life* (London: Croom Helm, St Martin's Press, 1983).

Bourdieu, Pierre, *Pascalian Meditations* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000).

Cameron, S., 'Gentrification, housing re-differentiation and urban regeneration: 'going for growth' in Newcastle upon Tyne', *Urban Studies*, 40/12 (2003): 2367-2382.

Downes, Kerry, *The Architecture of Wren*, Second edition (London: Routledge, 1988).

Doxiadis, C.A., *Architectural Space in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1972).

Hernández-Bonilla, Mauricio, 'Making public space in low-income neighborhoods in Mexico', in A. Madanipour (ed.), *Whose Public Space? International case studies in urban design and development* (London: Routledge, 2010), pp.191-211.

Honneth, Axel, *Disrespect: The normative foundations of critical theory* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007).

Horne, Alistair, *Seven Ages of Paris* (London: Macmillan, 2002).

Howard, E., *Garden Cities of To-morrow* (London: Faber & Faber, 1960).

Jacobs, J., *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961).

Le Corbusier, *The City of To-morrow, and its planning* (London: The Architectural Press, 1971).

Le Corbusier, *The City of To-Morrow and Its Planning* (New York: Dover publications, 1987).

Lees, Loretta and Ley, David, 'Introduction to special issue on gentrification and public policy', *Urban Studies*, 45/12 (2008): 2379-2384.

Lefebvre, Henri, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).

Lipietz, Alain, *Towards a New Economic Order: Postfordism, ecology and democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992).

Logan, John and Molotch, Harvey, *Urban Fortunes: the political economy of place* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987).

Lynch, Kevin, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1960).

Madanipour, A., *Public and Private Spaces of the City* (London: Routledge, 2003).

Madanipour, A., 'Marginal public spaces in European cities', in A. Madanipour (ed.), *Whose Public Space?*, (London: Routledge, 2010), pp.111-130.

Madanipour, A., *Knowledge Economy and the City* (London: Routledge, 2011).

Madanipour, A., 'Social exclusion and space', in R. LeGates and F.Stout (eds), *The City Reader*, Fifth Edition (London: Routledge, 2011), pp.186-194.

Michialino, Paola, 'Co-production of public space in Nord-Pas-de-Calais: redefinition of social meaning', in A. Madanipour (ed.), *Whose Public Space?* (London: Routledge, 2010), pp.191-211.

Morris, AEJ, *History of Urban Form: Before the industrial revolution*, Third edition (Harlow: Longman, 1994).

Mumford, L., *The City in History* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1961).

OECD, *Growing Unequal? Income distribution and poverty in OECD countries* (Paris: OECD, 2008).

Onanuga, Tola, Emergency Budget: George Osborne's speech in full, *The Guardian*, Tuesday 22 June 2010, http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2010/jun/22/emergency-budget-full-speech-text, accessed 2 August 2010.

Parkins, Helen (ed.), *Roman Urbanism: Beyond the consumer city* (London: Routledge, 1997).

Pevsner, Nikolaus, *An Outline of European Architecture*, Seventh edition (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963).

Platt, Colin, *The English Medieval Town* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1976).

Platt, Colin, *The Architecture of Medieval Britain: A social history* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

Punter, J. (ed.), *Urban Design and the British Urban Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 2010).

Robertsons, D.S., *Greek and Roman Architecture*, Second Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

Saalman, Howard, *Medieval Cities* (London: Studio Vista, 1968).

Silver, Allan, 'Two different sorts of commerce' – friendship and strangership in civil society', in J. Weintraub, and K.Kumar (eds), *Public and Private in thought and Action: Perspectives on a grand dichotomy* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997), pp.43-74.

Sitte, Camillo, 'City Planning According to Artistic Principles', in George Collins & Christiane Collins (eds), *Camillo Sitte: The birth of modern city planning* (New York: Rizzoli, 1986).

Slater, T., 'The eviction of critical perspectives from gentrification research', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 30/4 (2006): 737-757.

Smith, N., *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the revanchist city* (London: Routledge, 1996).

Trout, Andrew, *City on the Seine: Paris in the time of Richelieu and Louis XIV* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1996).

Urban Task Force, *Towards an Urban Renaissance* (London: Spon, 1999).

Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Weber, Max, *Economy and Society: An outline of interpretive sociology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).

Weber, Max, *The Agrarian Sociology of Ancient Civilizations* (London: Verso, 1998).